


EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
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Remarks


 Executive Secretary
 7/2/84
 Date



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JUN 29 1984

Executive Registry

84-2763

MEMORANDUM TO: Distribution List A

FROM: S/LPD - Otto J. Reich *ER*

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy Calendar, Borge
Interview, AFL-CIO Newsletter,
Letter to the Editor/Cleveland
Plain Dealer

Enclosed is the updated version of the Public Diplomacy Calendar. If you know of any items which would be appropriate for the calendar, please call John Scafe at 632-6751.

Also enclosed is a recent interview with Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge, as reported by the Mexican newspaper Excelsior. Mr. Borge makes some rather interesting statements on such issues as the Nicaraguan bishops, of whom many "are a race of traitors," he says.

A recent issue of the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union News is included. It contains an excellent article on persecution of free labor in Nicaragua and also the brief report of AFL-CIO election observers in El Salvador.

Lastly, I am sending an article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer, in which Ohio Governor Richard Celeste strongly criticized U.S. policy toward Central America. Whenever our office becomes aware of such articles, we make every effort to correct misperceptions by submitting a response. In this case, we sent a letter to the editor which summarizes administration policy toward the region (copy enclosed).

Enclosures:
As stated.

DCI
EXEC
REG

L-290

LATIN AMERICA/CARIBBEAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CALENDAR

6/21/84

MAY

May 25- Registration of candidates for office in Nicaragua.
July 25

JUNE

June 16- Faculty for Human Rights in El Salvador - Central
July 1 America (FACHRES - CA), led by Chaplain Chester
Wickwire of Johns Hopkins, visits Honduras, El
Salvador and Nicaragua.

June 20-25 Richard McCall, Deputy Staff Director of the
Senate Democratic Policy Committee, visits Managua
and San Salvador to assess the current political
situation.

June 21 First general elections in St Christopher and
Nevis since independence from the UK in 1983.

Otto Reich speaks to Hispanic Council on Foreign
Affairs at State.

Larry Tracy talks at Catholic University to United
Church of Christ group and 32 East and West German
pastors.

June 21-22 Latin American Debtors Conference in Cartagena,
Colombia.

June 21-24 LULAC (Hispanic) convention in El Paso.

June 22 Amb. Middendorf speaks at Naval War College in
Newport.

June 22-28 Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson visits
Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba.

June 23 Fifth anniversary of Sandinista promises.

June 24-27 Kiwanis International meeting in Phoenix.

Baptist General Conference in Portland, OR.

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June 25 Larry Tracy speaks to 20 Whirlpool corporate vice presidents at EOB.

June 25-27 "Second Conference of Central American and Caribbean Journalists," sponsored by pro-Sandinista Union of Journalists in Managua.

June 26 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Torture - Worldwide.

June 27 White House Outreach Working Group on Central America: Amb. Harry Shlaudeman will discuss "The Future Structure of Peace in Central America" and Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Fred Ikle will talk on "Central America: The Strategic Question."

 HFAC Subcommittee on Human Rights hearing on Human Rights in Cuba.

June 28 HFAC Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs hearing on the Democratization of Latin America.

June 28-30 Lisbon conference on "Democratic Challenge in Latin America," sponsored by Portuguese Socialist Party's International Relations Foundation.

June 28-
July 3 National Education Association of the United States convention in Miami.

June 29-
July 1 National Organization of Women (NOW) convention in Minneapolis.

June 30 Larry Tracy addresses American Legion convention in Klamuth Falls, Oregon.

JULY

July 1 Constituent Assembly elections in Guatemala.

 Geraldine Macias speaks to World Affairs Council in Long Island.

July 1-4 Optimists International convention in Philadelphia.

July 1-6 NAACP (75th Anniversary Year) in Kansas City, MO.

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July 2 Larry Tracy speaks at YMCA Youth Conference in Black Mountain, North Carolina.

July 3-7 Lions International convention in Phoenix.

July 8 Larry Tracy addresses Long Island World Affairs Council.

July 9 Fifth anniversary of Sandinista revolution.

July 9-12 Clifford G. Olson, Jr., Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, visits Panama.

July 16-17 Otto Reich addresses Town Meeting and participates in other events in Dallas.

July 18 White House Outreach Working Group on Central America: "Nicaragua: Revolution Betrayed."

July 19 Fifth Anniversary of Sandinista Revolution. Also, scheduled end of state of emergency in Nicaragua.

July 22-25 LA RAZA (Hispanic) convention in Washington, D.C.

July 25 White House Outreach Working Group on Central America: "Accent on Cuba."

July 27-30 Voter registration period in Nicaragua.

July 30-
Aug. 8 American Bar Association convention in Chicago.

AUGUST

Aug. ? International Conference on Population in Mexico City.

Aug. 7-12 American GI Forum (Hispanic) convention at Regency Hotel in Denver.

Aug. 8-
Oct. 31 Electoral campaign in Nicaragua.

Aug. 10 Inauguration of Leon Febres Cordero as new president of Ecuador.

Aug. 15-17 DOD and Naval Post Graduate School-sponsored conference "Soviet and Cuban Strategy in the Third World After Grenada," in Monterey, California.

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- Aug. 17-24 Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Chicago.
- Aug. 29- -American Political Science Association convention
Sep. 2 in Washington, D.C.
- Aug. 31- American Legion convention in Salt Lake City.
Sep. 6

SEPTEMBER.

- Sep. 5-7 DOD - sponsored public diplomacy project:
 "Strategic Challenges to Regional Security" in
 Santo Domingo.
- Sep. 6-8 Southern Cable TV Association meeting in Atlanta.
- Sep. 15 National Day
 Costa Rica
 El Salvador
 Guatemala
 Honduras
 Nicaragua
- Sep. 16 National Day - Mexico
- Sep. 18 National Day - Chile
- Sep. 19 National Day - St. Kitts and Nevis
- Sep. 20 Congressional Hispanic Caucus.
- Sep. 20-22 Hispanic Chamber of Commerce annual convention in
 San Antonio, Texas.
- Sep. 21 National Day - Belize

OCTOBER

- Oct. ? National Council of Catholic Women meeting in
 Chicago.
- B'nai B'rith convention in Denver.
- Inland Daily Press Association convention in
 Chicago.
- Oct. 8 Anniversary of death of Che Guevara.

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Oct. 10-14 National Conference of Editorial Writers in
Washington, D.C.

 -Women in Communications convention in Seattle.

Oct. 11-13 Hispanic National Bar Association annual
convention in Los Angeles, California.

Oct. 11-14 Partners of the Americas 20th Anniversary
Conference, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Oct. 14-17 Southern Newspaper Publishers Association
convention in Boca Raton, FL.

Oct. 15 Anniversary of Reformist Coup in El Salvador.

Oct. 31 Electoral campaign ends in Nicaragua.

NOVEMBER

Nov. ? National Council for the Social Studies meets in
Washington, D.C.

Nov. 3-20 11th International Trade Fair of El Salvador.

Nov. 4 Elections in Nicaragua.

Nov. 27-30 AP Managing Editors convention in Miami.

DECEMBER

Dec. 3-5 Radio/TV News Directors Association convention in
San Antonio.

Dec. 7-10 Western Hemisphere Legislative Leaders Forum,
sponsored by Center for the Study of Democratic
Institutions, in Santa Barbara, California. Rep.
Michael Barnes and Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino will
host.

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1985

JANUARY

Jan. 10 Inauguration of new Nicaraguan President, Vice
President, and National Assembly.

EASTER

Festival of Democratic Youth in Kingston, Jamaica

APRIL

Apr. 18-20 Latin American Studies Association meeting in
Albuquerque, N.M.

JUNE

June ? Moscow World Festival of Youth and Students.

AFL-CIO**Free Trade Union News**

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MARCH 1984

Nicaragua**A Revolution Betrayed;
Free Labor Persecuted**

By WILLIAM C. DOHERTY, JR.
Executive Director
American Institute for Free Labor Development

This documentary explains in detail how the Sandinista Government has all but destroyed the free trade unions in Nicaragua and why the AFL-CIO unanimously adopted the following resolution.

For decades the AFL-CIO extended solidarity to the workers of Nicaragua in their struggle against the vicious dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Ours was the only organization to respond to the request of the "Confederacion de Unificacion Sindical (CUS) for a boycott against Somoza's merchant shipping.

The hopes raised by the July 1979 victory of the Sandinista revolution against Somoza have been shattered. The Carter Administration, backed by the AFL-CIO, had demonstrated its support of the revolution by granting substantial economic assistance to the new government. But that government has become dominated by totalitarian elements which have established a dictatorship that all but destroyed the right to strike, to organize or to bargain collectively without interference.

The Nicaraguan government has jailed seven dock-worker union leaders for recommending that their union in Corinto rejoin the CUS. The AFL-CIO fully supports the ICFTU protest to the ILO against this violation of trade union rights.

Cuban-style block committees requiring brother to spy on brother have been established under the new San-

dinista police state. The last remaining independent newspaper, *La Prensa*, has been repeatedly shut down. The right of habeas corpus is nonexistent.

The Nicaraguan defense minister, Comandante Humberto Ortega, has publicly stated that if elections are to be held at all, they will be to "consolidate revolutionary power, not to call it into question."

The AFL-CIO condemns the betrayal of the Nicaraguan revolution by the Sandinista government and opposes economic aid to the regime.

(Resolution adopted in October 1983 at the AFL-CIO 15th Constitutional Convention, Hollywood, Florida.)

Upon coming to power in July 1979, the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) immediately began its campaign to destroy the two democratic trade union centers in Nicaragua, the "Confederacion de Unificacion Sindical" (CUS), affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the Christian-oriented "Central de Trabajadores de Nicaragua" (CTN), affiliated to the World Confederation of Labor (WCL). Both international organizations have their headquarters in Brussels. The AFL-CIO is an affiliate of the ICFTU.

Within hours of taking control, the Sandinista leadership formed the "Central Sandinista de Trabajadores" (CST), and insisted that all unions should belong to one trade union central. When the CUS and CNT declined, stating that they already represented democratic unions affiliated regionally

with the free and democratic hemispheric organizations of the ICFTU and the WCL, the FSLN embarked on a unification plan that violated every concept of human and trade union rights.

• The FSLN strategy was revealed almost immediately after they assumed power. Scarcely a month had gone by when it was brought to the attention of the Minister of Labor that on August 24, 1979, an election of the Union of Carpenters and Masons was convoked by the International Brigade "Simon Bolivar." The election was held in the presence of uniformed and heavily armed guards and without the participation of the previously elected executive committee. The election was permitted to stand.

• August 28, 1979 — In a letter to the Government Junta for National Reconstruction, a copy of which was published in the newspaper *La Prensa*, the CUS complained that armed members of the FSLN were harassing their trade union leaders and disrupting their activities, and that "comandantes" in Corinto and Chinandega were accusing the CUS leaders of being thieves, sell-outs, imperialists and counter-revolutionaries. The CUS reminded the Junta of its participation in the battle against Somoza and that their Secretary General Luis Medrano Flores was killed by the Somoza forces on January 9, 1979.

• December 1979 — The CTN's headquarters in Managua was shot up by Sandinista troops.

• January 1980 — The CTN's re-

gional office was forcibly occupied by Sandinista troops.

• Also in January, the port union of Corinto was terrorized into affiliating to the Sandinista confederation after the union's Secretary General was arrested and held without charges; the home of the CUS's secretary for cultural affairs was bombed in Leon; and four other CUS leaders in the area, including the president of the CUS Manisa Federation, were arrested.

• March 1980 — Comandante Thomas Borge personally intervened in the affairs of the Hotel Intercontinental union, a CUS affiliate, and demanded that new officers be elected. When the election didn't turn out to his liking, he demanded a second election.

• October 1980 — The Sandinista Confederation (CTS), affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the Marxist labor international with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

• October 22, 1980 — Luis Malma, a Peruvian union representative of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (FIET), an international trade secretariat which had supported their affiliates in Nicaragua during the oppressive years of Somoza, was arrested by five armed members of the state security department. He was taken to the Ministry of the Interior and was interrogated for two days at El Chepote, which was formerly called the Bunker.

After his two-day ordeal, the security forces took him to his home, picked up his wife, advising her that she could take only two personal items with her. They were driven under armed guard to the Costa Rican border and released. All of their personal belongings, such as linens, tableware, china, radios, etc., were confiscated by the guards. Brother Malma was never told the reasons for his expulsion.

• February 12, 1981 — Three leaders of the "Javier Guerra" trade union, and three CTN leaders in the Managua area were arrested by state security forces.

• February 13, 1981 — The Secretary General of the CTN, Carlos Huembes, was attacked and brutally beaten by Sandinista thugs at the Managua airport in the presence of government troops. He was taken to a hospital where it was found that he had a broken nose and deep lacerations about the body. He was constantly followed by state secret agents and was publicly attacked as a traitor by government officials. The words "Always Watched. Death to the Traitors of the FSLN." were painted in bold letters on the outside walls of his home.

• February 16, 1981 — Two CTN trade union leaders were arrested in the Matagalpa province and released only after being threatened with death if they remained in the CTN.

• January 1982 — The Chinandega Transport Union, with approximately 2,000 members, which was affiliated to the Sandinista Confederation (CST), became dissatisfied with the services given to the union by the Sandinistas. The union called a general assembly and invited representatives of the CST and the country's two other trade union centers, the CNT and the CUS. The object of the general assembly was to enable workers to decide with which national center they wanted their union to be affiliated. The 480 delegates who attended voted as follows: CST, 11 votes; CTN, 69 votes; CUS, 400 votes. The visiting representatives of the three national trade union centers signed an agreement by which they pledged to respect the democratic vote of the workers. However, the very next day reprisals began, and the Secretary General of the union had his driver's license confiscated by the authorities. It was made abundantly clear that the union could expect a period of harassment until the vote was reversed. They stated that "a disaffiliation from the CST was tantamount to counter-revolutionary activities."

• March 15, 1982 — The Sandinista

government declared a "State of National Emergency" during which the regime is to have extraordinary powers, including the right to detain and jail persons indefinitely without having proved that they committed any crime. The right of habeas corpus is suspended. Under this decree, strikes continue to be banned, no collective contracts may be signed, and no trade union demonstrations or public meetings are allowed. However, these restrictions are not enforced against unions affiliated with the Sandinista Confederation (CST).

• March-April 1982 — Forty CTN activists were detained by police and interrogated for days at a time. Three members of the CTN Executive Committee receive death threats.

• May 17, 1982 — Armed men invade the headquarters of the CTN labor confederation and rifle the archives containing mailing lists and accounting records.

• August 17, 1982 — Peasant leaders of Jalapa are arrested and remain imprisoned through the Spring of 1983.

• In the first week of November 1982, an ICFTU mission composed of the following members visited Nicaragua:

Tulio Cuevas, ORIT Secretary General and head of the delegation

Enzo Friso, Director, Inter-American Affairs, ICFTU

Claudio Artavia Artavia, General Secretary, Central American Confederation of Workers

Frank Drozak, Vice-President, AFL-CIO (U.S.A.)

William C. Doherty, Jr., Director, AIFLD/AFL-CIO

Richard Mercier, Vice-President, CLC, Canada

John Harker, Director, International Affairs Department, CLC, Canada

Emilio Gabaglio, Director, International Affairs Department, CISL, Italy

Per Carlsen, representing the Nordic Council of Trade Unions.

The mission held talks with the Minister of Labor, Mr. Virgilio Godoy, and with members of the Committee on Human Rights, the "Coordinadora Democratica" (representatives of political parties and professional associations); Mr. Rafael Cordova, a member of the governing Junta; Victor Tirado Lopez, Commander of the Revolution; the leaders of the "Coordinadora Sindical de Nicaragua" and, finally, the leaders of CUS, the ICFTU affiliate.

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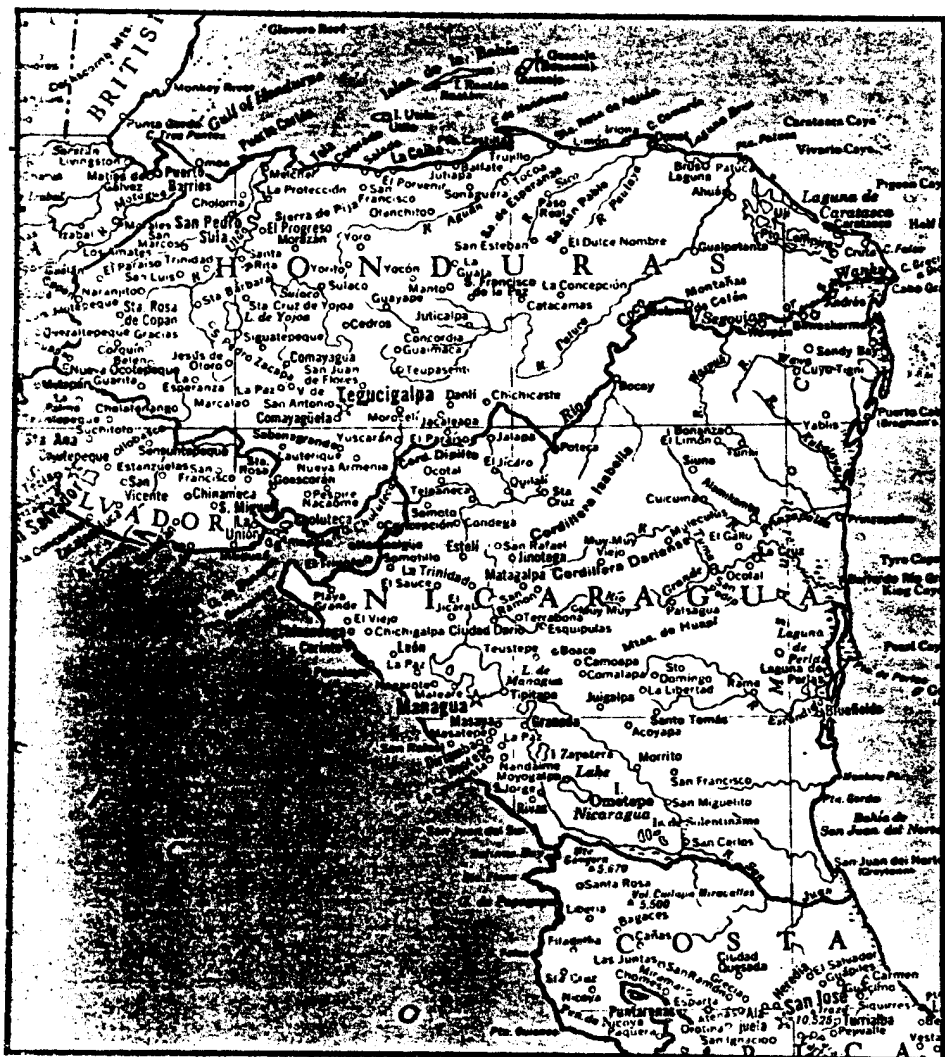
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In the course of these various interviews, and particularly with the Minister of Labor, the delegation stressed the desire and commitment of the international free trade union movement to support in Nicaragua — just as in any other country in the world — the respect for ILO Conventions on trade union rights, within the framework of a free, democratic and pluralistic society, which is the only way in which real trade union rights may be guaranteed. The mission also emphasized that the trade union unity of the working class, which is the goal of every authentic trade unionist, must not, however, be imposed by any authority, but must emerge as the result of the will of the workers themselves.

The mission furthermore pointed out that the international free trade union movement enthusiastically supported the people of Nicaragua in their victorious battle against the cruel Somoza regime and also the Sandinista Revolutionary Government which was set up after the liberation of the country.

The mission complained about the very repressive acts, including imprisonment, committed against CUS — an

ICFTU affiliate — and its leaders, and, since acts of this nature were continually occurring, the ICFTU had been forced to lodge complaints with the ILO in the hope that the government would review its attitude and respect the international conventions.

In very frank and cordial talks, the Minister of Labor assured the delegation that the Government of Nicaragua intended to fulfill the obligations deriving from the ILO conventions.

Unfortunately, the Sandinista government continued to interpret freedom of association as the "freedom" of workers to affiliate to the Sandinista Confederation (CST) . . . or else.

After the ICFTU visit, the repression was of a more serious nature and began to occur more often.

• November 20-21, 1982 — The National Confederation of Workers (CTN) convened in the city of Managua in order to discuss the turn of events in the country. The congress made public its deep concern about the deterioration of the freedoms in the country, denouncing "before our citizens and before the world all the abuses that have been heaped upon us by the

military in power, such as the case of our trade union brothers Eugenio Membreno, Numan Caideron, Miguel Salcedo, Victoriano Ramos, Nicolas Gonzalez, Ramon Gonzalez, Saturnino Lopez Centeno, his daughter, Heriberto Rodriguez, Santos Jimenez, Bernabe Larios Morga, Santos Larios Cornejo, Evelio Larios Cornejo, Jose Moreno Davila, Monico Fuentes, Abel Lopez, Jose Moreno, Agustin Canales, Santos Guerrero, and Santos Ponce Santacruz, who had been arrested without justifiable cause."

The AFL-CIO has just received notification that, as of February 20, 1984, the following labor leaders remain in jail:

Anastasio Jimenez Maldonado
arrested October 1982
Gabriel Jimenez Maldonado
arrested October 1982
Saturnino Lopez Centeno
arrested October 1982
Alejo Flores Castillo
arrested December 1982
Candido Arbigu Ocon
arrested December 1982
Candelario Jarquin Miranda
arrested December 1982
Ricardo Mejia Salgado
arrested December 1982
Esteban Orozco Martinez
arrested December 1982
Anacleto Razo Torres
arrested December 1982
Nicolas Orozco Martinez
arrested December 1982
Stanislao Cano Mayorga
arrested December 1982

• February 1983 — Three more CNT leaders are arrested in Matagalpa and were held for four months without being charged.

• March 21, 1983 — The Port Workers Union of Corinto, representing 1800 workers, formally announced that it was leaving the Sandinista Confederation (CST) and affiliating to the ICFTU affiliate CUS.

On March 22, a Sandinista security force arrived at union headquarters and assaulted the members and took many to jail. The following message was sent to Dr. Edmundo Vargas, Director of the Human Rights Department of the Organization of American States, and Martin Ennols of Amnesty International:

We denounce the trade union related repression against members of the dock workers union of Corinto. A score of armed mobs backed by governmental authorities engaged in a violent physical confrontation with defenseless workers to prevent them from disaffiliating from the

(Continued on page 8)

"Official Terrorism" in Poland

A detailed report on recent human rights abuses in Poland warns that new methods of repression by the Polish government are being employed against Solidarity activists, including the use of "official terrorism."

The 94-page report, prepared by the New York-based Committee in Support of Solidarity, documents "the continuation of gross and massive violations of human rights in Poland in 1983," including a sharp increase in incidents of targeted and random abductions, beatings, and killings of Solidarity and opposition activists by Polish security police in 1983 and the first three months of 1984.

The human rights report documents the killings of 24 Solidarity members in 1983 alone, with a sharp increase of murders by what the Polish government calls "unknown assailants" and of deaths following "mysterious disappearances."

Polish security forces continue to target the leadership of both "the free trade union Solidarity and other peaceful opposition organizations formed underground after the imposition of martial law in Poland," according to the report.

The murder victims, who have been found dead in ditches, outside workplaces, near railroad tracks, or in wrecked cars, usually with evidence of beatings, have all been Solidarity or opposition activists or elected Solidarity leaders. The victims include two of the highest ranking Solidarity leaders in Silesia, both of whom told their families of being threatened with death by secret police during interrogations.

Autopsies are not performed and the normal practice of the authorities has been to cover up rather than investigate these deaths, which often clearly point toward the security police or complicity by known collaborators with the police. Another practice is to attribute the deaths to "heart attacks," to "driving accidents," or to other unlikely causes. In February, a Rural Solidarity leader, Piotr Bartoszcze, was found dead in a well with clear evidence of murder according to the small town parish priest. The authorities said that Bartoszcze had fall-

en into the well while drunk, although he was known not to drink.

The most recent cases verified by the independent Helsinki Committee in Poland and by the underground Solidarity press bring to 72 the number of known killings of trade unionists since the imposition of martial law in December 1981. Approximately half the victims have been under 30 years of age, including a number of teenagers. However, Piotr Naimski, a spokesman for the Committee in Support of Solidarity, said that "There could be many more such murders. We don't know about many small towns, where the secret police terrorize a whole community with the murder of a Solidarity activist."

The report states that beatings and torture employed during interrogations are a common form of repression, often resulting in severe injuries and causing permanent disability. Beatings are commonly used by the security forces to obtain desired confessions from the prisoner or to intimidate activists from continuing union or opposition activities.

There are several cases of beatings resulting in deaths, such as the 17-year-old student Grzegorz Przemyski who was beaten to death following his arrest on May 13, 1983. Although the murder of Przemyski resulted in a huge public outcry in Warsaw, forcing the authorities to conduct an investigation, no security officers whom eyewitnesses have said were involved in the beating have been arrested and the prosecutors are likely only to charge two ambulance attendants who drove Przemyski to a hospital after the beating. No other cases of deaths following beatings have resulted in investigations.

"There is clear documentation that the Polish government is engaging in terrorist tactics against Polish society," said the executive director of the Committee in Support of Solidarity, Eric Chenoweth. "They have failed to crush the Solidarity movement and are resorting to new methods of repression to try to intimidate people from being active in independent underground forms of resistance."

The Committee in Support of Soli-

arity has just received information that the secret police has started a group called "Organization Anti-Solidarity" in the city of Torun which issued a leaflet in March threatening to attack Solidarity supporters. The appearance of this organization follows numerous cases of kidnappings, disappearances, and beatings of Solidarity members in Torun.

The human rights report is compiled from information and documents from the independent Helsinki Committee in Poland and independent Solidarity publications printed underground as well as from official government army publications. It also includes counts of continuing arrests of Solidarity activists and repression against political prisoners already sentenced to prison terms or awaiting trial, including a large number of elected leaders of Solidarity.

"Cruel and inhuman punishment inflicted against political prisoners, especially when they attempt to gain improvement of harsh prison conditions or to gain redress for inflictions of force against them," the report states. Political prisoners are prevented from receiving visitors, parcels, correspondence, have their exercise periods reduced, and are beaten removed to single cells or "tiger cells" for initiating any peaceful protest actions or hunger strikes, or even submitting letters to the prison authorities or to the Ministry of Justice.

Conditions for political prisoners in Poland have grown worse and more serious in the last six months during which time over fifty political prisoners at four prisons have gone on hunger strikes. The most serious case involves the Strzelin Prison outside Wroclaw, where it is reported that 1 prisoners went on a hunger strike for two months in December and January. The hunger strikers included Janusz Palubicki, Solidarity leader from Poznan, who suffered a third heart attack while on strike and was transferred to a prison hospital in Wroclaw. He only recently agreed to receive food, and has undergone heart surgery at a civilian hospital.

The report stated that there were at least three hundred political prisoners at the end of 1983, but a massive police sweep throughout Poland has resulted in the arrests of at least 210 more, according to government figures. This does not include thousands of people who have been called in for interrogations or detained for 48-hour periods in the last few months. The Polish government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, said that there were 427 political prisoners as of early April.

Open Letter from a Polish Jail

The following "Open Letter" was sent in response to Polish government spokesman Jerzy Urban's remarks about the possibility that the four KSS-KOR defendants might accept an offer to emigrate under the threat of being given long prison sentences. They are charged with violating Article 128 of the Polish Penal Code. Henryk Wujec's cell was later searched and his personal belongings confiscated.

In the November 6, 1983 issue of *Trybunu Ludu* (Voice of the People), I read a report of Jerzy Urban's weekly press conference, during which he said, "Those persons reacted in various ways when the suggestion was raised." He was referring, of course, to the "suggestion" to leave Poland under the threat of long-term imprisonment if we did not agree to leave.

Up until now I have not "reacted" to this suggestion at all and I did not intend to, since I consider his suggestion offensive. However, having the suspicion that in a future issue of *Trybunu Ludu* I will learn from you what my reaction was, I prefer to clearly express my opinion on the matter myself.

This offer means, as I understand it, that I (and my friends) willingly force ourselves to leave the country "for the time necessary to bring Poland out of its crisis and to reach full stabilization." (How many generations do you think this will take?) Otherwise, we will be imprisoned for many years. You, Mr. Urban, described the offer as "the most humanitarian solution, in conformity to our policies and to the spirit of the amnesty."

In reaction to this "most humanitarian solution in conformity with your policy," I will choose many years' imprisonment.

Besides giving you this important answer to your suggestion, however,

I would like to discuss some other matters:

1) Why do you offend people who for two years now have been imprisoned without being sentenced to anything and who cannot speak out? Why do you try to ascribe to us some "sponsors" for our activity? The mandate for our activities (this is the word you used) is my constituency, who elected me to the Regional Commission of Solidarity in Warsaw, as well as to the National Commission of Solidarity. On the other hand, it is easier for you to name your principal sponsors, since you were not elected but instead appointed by your superior, who, in turn, was appointed by the general.

2) Why do you wish to kick out of the country those who have a different opinion than your bosses? Every person has a right to live where he thinks his place is. And he cannot be forced to emigrate by blackmail, repression, or imprisonment.

3) From your statement, quoted by *Trybunu Ludu*, it follows that there will be peace in Poland only after eleven people are expelled from the country, namely "the leading members of KOR" and "the extremists from the former Solidarity." Are you sure that will be enough? At the same press conference, you admitted that recent signs of discontent expressed in the country are by no means "a result of the incitement of Kuron, M'chnik, or Rulewski"; instead you "come to the conclusion that I share some responsibility for informing public opinion in a purely bureaucratic, confused, and incomprehensible manner."

So perhaps some additional people should be expelled from Poland in order to liquidate the source of constant unrest in Poland? I pose this question only to make you reconsider your statements, because as far as I am concerned, there is enough room in Poland for Kuron and Urban, for Mich-

nik and Rakowski, just as there is enough room for Walesa and Jaruzelski. I hope, also, that there will even be some room for me, although for the moment it is only a very small room.

4) I am being detained together with my friends, charged with making preparations to attempt to overthrow the existing political system by force (in a group of four people). I expect that I will be sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, as have been many of my friends from Solidarity. Although a stay in prison is not what I would wish for myself, still I knew that I could be imprisoned ever since I first went to Ursus, ever since I met those workers who had been beaten and fired from their jobs, the families of imprisoned workers, and all those repressed after [the workers' protests in Ursus in] June 1976.

I started to make those trips to Ursus not because of any orders from some "sponsors" in the West, or the East, but under the orders of my own conscience. Fortunately there is still something in a man that does not allow him to enjoy the benefits of this political system while others are innocently persecuted.

Just as my conscience dictated to me that I would once go to Ursus, it does not now allow me to accept exile from my homeland, where innocent people remain imprisoned, where there are gravestones for my friends from Solidarity and from KOR, and where so many people labor in pain and danger with the hope of making Poland a country free from violence and terror.

Henryk Wujec
Mokotow, November 13, 1983

P.S. Since the suggestion to leave our country was only presented to me in public, through *Trybunu Ludu*, I treat this as an open letter.

Reprinted from the Committee in Support of Solidarity Reports, March 5, 1984.

up from 217 in mid-December. However, government figures repeatedly have understated the actual number of political prisoners.

Among those arrested in the last three months are Maciej Bednarkiewicz, a noted defense lawyer for political prisoners and the defense attorney for the mother of Grzegorz Przemyslaw, and Marek Nowakowski, one of the best-known writers in Poland.

Over thirty people alone were arrested from a group in Wroclaw called "Fighting Solidarity" and a larger number have been arrested in Warsaw.

Although martial law, first imposed in December 1981 to crack down on the Solidarity trade union movement was lifted in July 1983, and the authorities announced a conditional amnesty, many Solidarity leaders and

activists remained in jail and new repressive legislation giving broad powers of arrest, detention, and coercion was passed in place of martial law decrees.

"The proclaimed aim of the authorities," the report states, "is to deprive workers and society of many of the individuals freely elected to represent their interests." The report continues,
(Continued on page 7)

AFL-CIO Observers Report on Elections in El Salvador

said that no armed forces intimidation took place. We plan to consult further with other observers regarding his issue.

The following is the report of an AFL-CIO observation team sent to El Salvador at the request of the Salvadorean affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to judge the fairness of the March 25 elections:

1. We recognize a sincere and energetic desire on the part of Salvadorans to vote. We found the main motivations among the many voters that we interviewed to be a belief in the democratic process; the hope that elections hold out for the future of El Salvador; and a commitment to the future of a democratic electoral system.
2. We questioned the voters explicitly on whether or not they have been pressured at the polling place and on whether or not they fear any reprisals for not voting, and their answer to these questions was a clear no.
3. We observed that too many people were unable to vote. Many spent inordinate amounts of time looking for their proper polling place. Others, even after an extensive search, found no polling place to match their identification card numbers, or discovered that their names did not appear on the voter registration list. Some of these had identification cards that seem to be valid. This problem appeared to affect voters of all political parties. We could detect no political bias or likely bias among those who could not vote.
4. From observation alone we have drawn no clear conclusions about other abnormalities in the system that might have caused distorted results. While in our view it seemed to be designed to protect the interests of the voters, it is a new system.

Even though no such additional problems were apparent, we believe that further examination of the entire process is necessary before any decisive conclusions can be drawn. We suggest additional consultation with experts regarding the system's ultimate influence on the determination of a democratic voting result.

5. We could detect no overt political intimidation at the polling places themselves, and voters we questioned about this confirmed this impression.
6. We received numerous reports of voter intimidation by guerrillas in advance of the election. This included the confiscation of identification cards, the kidnapping of voters, power black-outs and the disruption of public transportation.
7. We received no reports that the armed forces interfered with the electoral process. Voters explicitly questioned about this possibility

The AFL-CIO team was headed by Frank Drozak, president of the Seafarers International Union, and included Eugenia Kemble, American Federation of Teachers, Ann Pearlman Morton, and four officials from the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), William C. Doherty, Jr., Jesse Friedman, Jack Heberle, and Roberto Cazares. Five other Americans with the AFL-CIO observers were Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke, of the Land Council and the Citizens' Committee for a Pro-Democratic Coalition in Central America; Leonard Sussman and Bruce McCalm, of Freedom House; Bayard Rustin, of Social Democrats USA; Mary N. Temple, of the Land Council and The Citizens' Committee on El Salvador. ■



Pacific Labor Leaders Establish Regional Labor Forum

In late December of last year union leaders from five Pacific basin nations, meeting in Sydney, Australia, heard the welcome news that the Labor Party government of Australia is considering ways to provide assistance to emerging labor organizations in the region. The announcement came at a meeting organized by a recently-formed group called the Labor Committee for Pacific Affairs. The committee brings together labor representatives from Pacific nations out of their concern "for increased cooperation and communication among democratic unions in the region." Currently the committee includes union representatives from Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and the United States.

During their two-day inaugural meeting, Labor Committee members were addressed by Acting Australian Prime Minister Lionel Bowen and by Senator Kerry Sibraa. In his presentation, Senator Sibraa, chairman of the Australian Senate's Select Committee on ASEAN, indicated that the new government plans to cooperate with the Australian labor movement to provide labor training and educational opportunities for unions in Papua New Guinea, Fiji and other recently independent island nations.

Other items discussed at the Sydney meeting included reviews of the union situation in each of the countries represented and a discussion of the committee's goals and proposed activities for the coming year. In drafting its statement of purpose, the committee indicated that its primary objective is to provide opportunities for increased contacts and communications between unionists in the region. The meeting

participants recognized that Pacific labor unions and federations already have developed international contacts through trade secretariats and the ICFU, but made it clear that their objective is to find ways to complement and broaden these relationships.

In its final communique, the Pacific Labor Committees stressed the importance of economic growth and employment to regional stability and democracy. It indicated that the committee would do what it could, in cooperation with existing international efforts, to promote increased assistance to unions in the region. The communique also stated that the issues of "peace and regional stability" would be topics for future discussion. In this regard it noted that other Pacific labor groupings already have taken up such topics at regional conferences. The Labor Committee indicated that it "is prepared to participate in any such future conferences provided that such conferences and the participating unions not be used to further narrow political interests."

Members and Observers Attending the Meeting of the Labor Committee for Pacific Affairs, December 19th and 20th, 1983

Australia

Harry Hurrell, National Secretary, Federated Ironworkers Association
John MacBean, Assistant Secretary, Labor Council of New South Wales
Jim Maher, National President, Shop, Distributive and Allied Employees
John Maynes, National President, Federated Clerks Union
Joe Thompson, N.S.W. Secretary, Vehicle Builders Employees Federation

Tony Vella, Assistant Secretary, Victorian Trades Hall Council
Michael Easson, Education Officer, Labor Council of New South Wales, Secretary

New Zealand

Garth Fraser, General Secretary, New Zealand Food Processing & Chemical Union
Ron Park, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union
Ron Trott, Secretary, Airline Pilots Association

Fiji

James Raman, Secretary, Fiji Trades Union Congress, Observer
Mahendra Chaudhry, Assistant Secretary, Fiji Trades Union Congress

Papua New Guinea

Napoleon Liosi, President PNG Public Employees Association
Henry Moses, President, Papua New Guinea TUC
David Unagi, President, National Airline Employees Association

United States

Dale Good, Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO
Jack Henning, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
Jay Mazur, Secretary-Treasurer, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union
Albert Shanker, Vice President of the AFL-CIO and President of the American Federation of Teachers
Larry Specht, Director, Labor Desk, United States Youth Council, Secretary
Jim Wood, Director of C.O.P.E., Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Assistant Secretary
David Dorn, Assistant to the President, American Federation of Teachers (Observer)
Charles Gray, Deputy Director, Asian-American Free Labor Institute (Observer)

POLAND

(Continued from page 5)

"By harassing and repressing political prisoners, they wish to break the will of those who have struggled for workers' and human rights."

The Committee in Support of Solidarity, whose board includes AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Teachers President Albert Shanker, submitted the report to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, which met in Geneva in March 1984. The Commission had

criticized human rights abuses in Poland in 1982 and 1983, but this year voted to "delay" consideration of a critical resolution for one year, following a report by Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar which "praised the Polish government's spirit of moderation." American and Western European delegations criticized the Secretary-General's report. "It is the great disappointment of this session," said

the head of the U.S. delegation, Richard Shifter.

The Committee in Support of Solidarity has also submitted the report to the International Labor Organization's Commission of Inquiry on Poland, formed last June, which will deliver a report expected to criticize severely violations of trade union rights in that country at the upcoming ILO Congress. ■

NICARAGUA

(Continued from page 3)

official trade union central organization and to affiliate to the Confederation of Trade Union Unity (CUS). Alejandro Arnuero Martinez, Julio Solis Samayoa, Jorge Gutierrez Medrano, Jose Gomez Novoa, Francisco Davila Mendoza, Guillermo Salmeron Jimenez and Crescencio Carranza, dock workers and leaders of their union have been arrested; seven others had their dock workers cards destroyed, which resulted in their unjustified dismissal for absenteeism, and some two hundred and sixty workers are on the black list, being threatened with dismissal by the company that runs the dock operations in Corinto.

We would appreciate your good offices before the Nicaraguan Government to ensure that further and serious reprisals of this kind do not take place.

Martha P. Baltodano
National Coordinator
Permanent Commission on
Human Rights, Nicaragua

• June 1983 — The ICFTU Congress in Oslo confirmed its protest to the ILO regarding the violation of Convention #87 by the Sandinista regime because of its repeated infringement of workers' rights. The Sandinista repression of the Corinto Port Workers Union, an ICFTU affiliate, was cited as a particularly flagrant example.

• July 18, 1983 — Estela Palavicini, the "secretary of Vigilancia" of the Checkers' Union of Corinto was arrested and then released. She was arrested for a second time on October 10 and tortured. She was then found innocent and released only to be informed that she no longer had a job; one more person added to the black list of dissenting democratic trade unionists.

• July 1983 — Jose Miranda Wilford, secretary general of the Radio Workers union, is imprisoned when he opposes the forced affiliation of his union to the CST. He remains in jail.

• December 1983 — The house of Carlos Huembes, Secretary General of the CTN, was besieged by members of the Sandinista Popular Militia for several days during the month of December. During their routine military exercises, more than one hundred "milicianos" (militia men) would pause in front of the house for a period of approximately three hours shouting slogans such as "Counter Revolutionary, go to Miami!" On one occasion, while the troops were demonstrating in front of the house, one of

Brother Huembe's daughters suffered a nervous breakdown that required the services of a doctor.

• 1984 — The beginning of the new year saw no change in the tactics of the Sandinista Junta and all of its related organizations. While its leaders were on a public relations program for peace throughout the U.S. and the world, the parade of democratic trade unionists going to the jails of the country continued and the job black list kept growing longer.

• January 25, 1984 — Aristides Morales Martinez, former secretary general of the SITRAVOCHI union in Chinandega was arrested in the middle of the night, reminiscent of the tactics of the Somoza Security Force. His crime? He dared to defend the free trade union precepts of CUS.

• January 28, 1984 — Alfonso Davila, a member of the Faustino Martinez union in the San Antonio Sugar Mill, was arrested for distributing the CUS monthly labor information bulletin, "Solidaridad." He was taken to a jail in Chinandega and held incommunicado.

• In mid-February 1984, five thousand (5,000) sugar cane workers at the San Antonio Sugar Mill complex went on strike for three days to protest the government-imposed labor agreement. The sugar estates and refinery are the largest privately-owned enterprise in Nicaragua, yielding over half of the country's sugar production and most of its rum ("Flor de Cana"). A spokesman for the Pellas family, which owns San Antonio, said that they could have given larger raises, but the Labor Ministry imposed a ceiling.

The workers who belonged to the Ronaldo Altamiro Revolutionary Union affiliated to the Sandinista Confederation (CST), turned their backs on the CST leadership and demanded higher wage increases. The strike was successful, the workers received a higher increase and, as Luis Francisco Pena, a cane cutter who has been in the fields 35 years put it, "This was a work stoppage because of hunger. We have to insist on our rights as workers. This isn't a political affair; this is a work affair. Our life is very difficult." As a consequence of this strike, the leadership of the refinery workers union (a CUS affiliate) were set upon as agitators. The FSLN regards the San Antonio operation as very important and has been angry that the workers are represented by a CUS union. It has shown its displeasure by refusing to

confer legal status ("personeria juridica") on the union for the last three years. Normally, legal status is conferred in weeks.

The union leaders have again been detained and at least one has been threatened with death if he does not sever his contacts with the CUS.

• March 1, 1984—The CTN distributed a pamphlet titled "Information of Union Violations, 1983—A Reality behind the Barbed Wire of the FSLN." The pamphlet lists names, places, and describes incidents that transpired in 1983. There are over one hundred violations of human and trade union rights.

• March 15, 1984—A telegram was received from the ORIT offices in Mexico City. It said that Brother German Saul Solis, recording secretary of the Port Workers of Corinto, arrived in Mexico City March 13 after buying his way across the border, and is in dire straits. He was one of the leaders jailed in March 1983, dismissed from his job and eventually blacklisted. No one would hire him, and he barely survived by doing odd jobs wherever he went. He finally had to leave, and is now in Mexico asking for assistance.

* * *

The above documentation can best be summarized by the words of a Nicaraguan labor leader in exile: "For twenty years we had fought against the Somoza nightmare. Our resistance, bent at times, was never broken. We denounced the harassments, tortures and human and trade union rights violations. The price we paid was more torture, jailings, dismissal from jobs, and death. Finally our struggle was over and the Somoza dictatorship overthrown and we thought that everything we fought for would now become a reality.

"Four and one-half years after the takeover by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN), the democratic labor movement finds itself in a very serious predicament. We never dreamed that our labor leaders and workers would be put in jail again in great numbers; we never dreamed that the campaign by the government against our movement would be so vicious; we never dreamed that our workers and their families would be brought to ridicule by some long-time friends and neighbors, who now serve on block committees for the defense of the revolution, and it was beyond our wildest dreams that we would be asking once again about the 'desaparecidos' (the missing)." ■

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NICARAGUABORGE ON REVOLUTION, U.S. POLICY, CHURCH

PA062130 Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 4 Jun 84 pp 1-A, 20-A, 21-A, 38-A

[Report by Jorge Uribe N.]

[Text] Managua, 3 June, -- Commander Tomas Borge, interior minister in the Sandinist government, has declared here that President Reagan's administration has had "to fake a peace policy" toward Nicaragua in order to project the image of conciliation it needs at home to face the domestic campaign. He also accused Washington of trying to recover world hegemony, "not through moral force," but through force and the humiliation of weaker peoples. As for Mexico and the Contadora Group, he stressed that had it not been for them, his small Central American nation would already have been invaded.

In one of the few interviews he has granted in recent months, Borge, the minister, the politician, the poet, the revolutionary, and the writer, met for almost 5 hours with this EXCELSIOR correspondent. Our conversation included official statements, comments, curses, and even confidences from the charismatic Sandinist that were almost compromising in their informality.

He said that, as is suspected, the election that has been announced for November does not excite him very much; that he is not pro-Soviet or pro-anything, "but pro-Nicaraguan"; that most of the country's bishops "are a race of traitors"; and that he did not wish to continue denying the alleged aid sent to the guerrillas in El Salvador in the form of weapons.

[Borge] "We will never again discuss that. Now we only discuss this at the international organizations, within the Contadora Group, for instance. We have proposed pacts of nonaggression in that forum; we have proposed that the Honduran and Nicaraguan Armies work jointly to control and prevent the alleged arms traffic for the Salvadorans. It is no longer a matter of whether weapons are sent or not, but of creating the mechanisms for control to ensure that those weapons do not arrive. As usual, we are willing to reach agreements with all interested parties. But I repeat, we are tired of constantly denying that we are sending weapons. We are tired of denying charges that have never, ever been even closely confirmed. There has never been any evidence or specific proof."

The interview began at about 1100 in Borge's home in the lower middle class neighborhood of Bello Horizonte; it continued in his car; then in the Roberto Huembes Market, where he invited this correspondent to lunch; and it finally concluded in his office.

Small in stature, but with an overwhelming personality, Borge, 56, continues to be the best loved leader of the Sandinist revolution. Borge uses flowery speech, has great charm, and constantly changes the subject in his conversation and chats with his aides.

At some point, he himself answers the telephones and (to his subsequent indignation) one of those calls is from a reporter of the very critical and anti-Sandinist newspaper LA PRENSA who, in short, asks him something about "hero Eden Pastora." This is a childish provocation, particularly because whenever anyone here refers to the recently injured Commander Cero, he always says "traitor Pastora." Hardly able to contain himself, Borge curtly answers with two or three phrases and later reveals his fury when the interview continues.

The Revolutionary Loves Life, But Gives It

[Uribe] Commander, are 40 years of Somozist violence and now 5 years of aggression wearing out the Nicaraguan people? How much longer can these impoverished and exhausted people endure?

Borge, the poet, reflects, rises, moves his head and finally brightens:

[Borge] "We are willing to die, despite our love of life. When one is willing to die even though one loves life, it means that one is a revolutionary. To be a revolutionary -- and I have just now realized the truth of this definition -- means to love life deeply, but to be willing to give it for the revolution."

According to him, only a revolutionary can understand the peoples' capacity to endure pressure, aggression, provocation, and inconvenience.

However, the Nicaraguan people are not as deprived as they were under Somozism, for instance. The quality of health and education has improved considerably. Food consumption is currently twice that of the period under the dictatorship, to the extent, he says, that per capita consumption has exceeded per capita production.

However, Borge admits, there are acute shortage problems, not because there is no sugar, soap, toilet paper, or toothpaste, but because there is price-gouging, hoarding, and speculation. Naturally, this has a political price that the revolutionary government must pay, as this element must be added to the campaigns designed to distort the truth, encourage dissatisfaction, and even influence people: [Borge] "If anyone protests against a given issue, it is immediately assumed that he is protesting against the revolution, instead of merely accepting it for what it is. We are going through stages marked by restriction, and as a result, we must all do the same thing."

Counterrevolutionary jokes circulate here in Managua about the alleged luxurious life and alienation from reality in which the nine commanders of the revolution live. A deformation of the FSLN's acronym has even been made up. According to the opposition, it really means "happy, only the nine" [felices solo los nueve].

Borge commented on this: "The example of austerity must be set by revolutionary leaders at all levels. They must set the example by sharing with the people, whenever possible, their needs, difficulties, and deprivations, living in the same places, sharing the shortages. Our National Directorate has been taking measures to see that the revolutionary cadres share the general difficulties experienced by the country, because it would not be fair to create a privileged caste amid the poverty."

Borge recently moved from a large residence located in an elegant area of Managua -- a residence confiscated from the Somozists who fled -- to the one in which he currently lives in the Belo Horizonte neighborhood, which is mostly inhabited by employees and workers.

He also referred to one of the frightful blots of this nation: corruption.

Unbriable Police

He admits that the shortage problems persist because, despite the efforts being made, vices of the past, such as administrative corruption, also persist.

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"However," he admits with evident satisfaction, "we have won very important battles: We have absolutely unbribable police. It is a police force that earns a meager salary and therefore has needs, and for this reason it is incomparable. I dare anyone to try to bribe it. There is a mysticism about honesty in the police force (an office of the Interior Ministry). We are proud of this."

However, the Nicaraguan people, the Sandinists, know of the dangers that are stalking them: [Borge] "Of course that danger weighs down upon us. However, we are optimistic despite this, even though we know of the U.S. Administration's political desire to try to eliminate this revolution."

"The messianism comes from the Americans, who want to recover world hegemony by means of force; not on a moral basis, but by means of force and imposition, violence and the humiliation of our poor and weaker countries. That messianism weighs down on us, but we have confidence in ourselves and in international solidarity. We are confident that a way will be found for truth. Moreover, (Reagan) is not standing on such firm ground in the United States himself. There are important sectors of the American people, political and religious sectors and even sectors in Congress, that have become aware of the magnitude of the disrespect and injustice involved in the policy of aggression against us."

There Is No Determinism [determinismo]

The U.S. presidential elections seem to be a landmark for the existence of the Nicaraguan revolution, because, according to the analysts, if Ronald Reagan wins it is almost certain that he will launch his armed troops against the Salvadoran guerrillas and probably against Nicaragua.

Borge knows this very well, but he does not agree with this general view:

[Borge] "We are not determinists, and it is not that we are unconcerned about what might happen in the United States. Apparently, Reagan will be reelected and this will lead to the implementation of an arrogant and aggressive policy against us and other Central American nations. However, we will have to wait and see what happens in Congress. We will have to see what balance of political forces emerges within Congress after the elections."

"This does not take into account the fact that their domestic economic situation has deteriorated so much that the headache represented by the Central American problem is not as bad as to endanger reelection. Things are getting complicated. Reagan will be forced to pretend that he is pursuing a policy of peace toward Nicaragua and he will have to take some steps to show that the U.S. Government is interested in achieving peace. It is logical that he would decide that important U.S. officials should come here and speak with rulers or leaders of the revolution in an attempt to foster the image that the Reagan government is interested in peace. "But those are objectives designed for internal consumption. Nevertheless, we, who are responsible for peace in Nicaragua, will be willing to respond to those initiatives."

The Revolution Is Nicaraguan

[Uribe] Commander Borge, some of you are described as pro-communist, pro-Soviet, pro-Cuban, and other things, but in general the Sandinist revolution does not fit under a specific ideological sign...

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[Borge] "Of course, because it does not have the sign you are looking for. We are not pro any of the things you mentioned. We have friendly relations with the Soviet Union, but in today's world, those who are not satellites of the United States are satellites of the Soviets. We are no one's satellites. Just as we can be friends, we can also be good enemies. However, we aspire to create an advanced society, where the fundamental means of production are socialized, establishing, within the strategy of our revolution, a mixed economy in which those businessmen who love this country can have their chance."

"We seek to generalize a superior morality that would be shared by all. In any event, we will be a capitalistic society, but one with its own characteristics. We will not be a mechanical copy of the Cuban, Hungarian, or Bolshevik revolutions. It will be Nicaragua's own revolution. A true revolution must be waged under its own particular sign. "No one will create -- because we do not want to -- a carbon copy of some other revolution, some other historical experience. If this were tried, the revolution would fail."

"If you take a picture of our revolution, you will see that its face differs from others. If, in addition, you take its fingerprints, you will see that they are its very own, that they do not resemble any others."

Borge suddenly interrupts the conversation: Are you hungry? he asks. He answers himself: I am. Come on, let's have some lunch nearby. We leave Borge's house without any racket. There were only this correspondent; Borge; Danilo Aguirre, secretary general of the FELAP [Federation of Latin American Journalists], who helped in obtaining this interview; and a secretary. Borge's car was preceded by a police patrol and followed by a station wagon with three security agents.

We move through the beautiful paved streets of the once destroyed Managua. The three vehicles rigorously stop at each streetlight, and it is precisely because of this that the regime's strongest man is the best loved and most popular man, as well.

Twenty minutes later we arrive at the Roberto Huembes Market, where Borge is apparently a regular customer. Room is quickly made for the minister at a table near other customers (each serving of food costs 40 cordobas). Plate in hand, each person must choose, by the kitchen, the dish he wants and a glass of water. Once he finishes eating, Borge faces a problem, for in his haste he has forgotten to bring any money and cannot pay the bill, but his aide solves the problem.

People crowd around him: Mrs Juana Albornoz, who lives "three blocks toward the lake from the Golden Nugget and from there 50 yards to the left," asks him to help her buy 550 square yards of space to set up a craft industry; someone else asks him to order the installation of four more fans inside the market, because it is too hot. A young mother accuses a Uruguayan of refusing to acknowledge that he is the father of her son; a crippled man asks him to get him new crutches and, finally, a woman complains that a gate that fell a week ago has not yet been fixed.

-- Listen, Tomasito, my love, get them to improve our protection.

-- Look, Tomas, the heat is unbearable and you have not ordered the fans.

-- Tomas, you always solve our problems, so now we want you to help us.

Borge listens, undisturbed by their familiarity. On the contrary, he answers in the same terms.

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[Borge] "Look, sweetheart, I have written your name down and will order that the space be given to you; you will be responsible for the payments. I will have them fix some crutches for you. As for you, I have already asked someone to install the fans.

About the Patriotic Military Service

The conversation inside the market ends and the small party returns to the vehicles.

[Uribe] Commander, now that I have seen how people trust you, it would be prudent to ask, do the people accept the Patriotic Military Service without complaints? Aren't they affected? Do the mothers rebel?

[Borge] "There are mothers who are justly afraid, because we send their boys to war after a 2-month training period, to a war in which they can die, as many do. However, most people accept it, because it is a situation that we must confront in the face of aggression. It is not a situation that we have sought. The condemnable part, however, is that certain political parties are basing their campaign on the promise to eliminate the Patriotic Military Service. That is both illegal and immoral. To deny the military service is to place yourself on the side of the attackers. It is a betrayal of the homeland, which other nations under similar circumstances punish with the death penalty."

Position of the Church

[Uribe] After 5 years, the revolution has been praised, but although it has gained some support, it has apparently also lost some. I am talking now about the Catholic Church, for instance...

"The Catholic Church is very big," Borge answers, "and it is not easy to see it as a whole, without parts. Now, when we speak of the Catholic Church's hierarchy, we have not lost their support, because we never had it. When has Managua Bishop Miguel Obando y Bravo endorsed the revolution? Never. The same goes for the other bishops who make up the Episcopal Conference. Unfortunately, those bishops belong to a race of traitors, to the sector that has turned itself over to imperialism. On the occasion of the attacks," Borge stresses furiously, "the U.S. bishops issued a pastoral letter against Reagan's policy, while these gentlemen, the Nicaraguan bishops, issued a pastoral letter toward which even Reagan would have felt ashamed and would have had reservations in signing. "These gentlemen, these bishops, are more papist than the pope, more Reaganian than Reagan himself. The stand taken by such individuals, enemies to their country and their people and traitors to their own homeland, causes indignation. As far as the Christians are concerned, however, the immense majority," he adds on a calmer note, "support our people. I mean the immense majority of Nicaraguans. The great community, which expressed itself when the pope came, support us, that same majority who gave an ovation to the Pope but also protested to him over his positions. However, these sectors seem to be damaging the revolution with their positions, and the damage is worse than it might seem."

Borge does not stop: "Of course they damage the revolution, but they damage religious beliefs even more, because after the pope's visit there has been a current of skepticism here. We did not launch an anti-Christian campaign; they themselves launched it with their behavior. The stands in support of aggression damage us, but they damage their own plan for a Catholic Church in Nicaragua even more."

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Time has flown. Back in Minister Borge's office, new questions arise. He seems an inexhaustible source of answers, witty remarks, and funny dialogue.

Mexico and Contadora, Obligatory Subjects

[Borge] Aside from Mexico's position within the Contadora Group, Mexico has maintained a principled position toward the Nicaraguan revolution. From the time of the revolution's victory, during the administration of President Lopez Portillo -- whose behavior toward us we recall gratefully -- to this day under President De la Madrid, Mexico has expressed its solidarity and of its international policy. [sentence has published] Thank you, Mexican brothers.

"But I want to tell you something: I have mentioned former President Lopez Portillo because we Nicaraguans are grateful regardless of the situation. The men change but gratitude is eternal. That is the nature of our gratitude toward Mexico."

Another obligatory subject: the elections. Borge admits that they do not excite him very much, as he is more interested in defending the revolution, solving the shortage problems, and confronting ideological divisionism. [Borge] "The elections are a part of our struggle, but they do not monopolize all of our time."

The conversation almost ends because of the minister's activities. There is talk here about the results of a meeting held by the FSLN National Directorate, where it was decided that Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Sandinist government, would be the presidential candidate, and Sergio Ramirez Mercado the candidate for vice president. No one admits this officially, but it is tacitly understood that Borge, the most popular of the commanders, lost his chance before that superior body and lost it again later at the Sandinist assembly, which confirmed the decision made by the nine. In view of this situation, a last question arises, and it receives a final answer:

[Uribe] After the elections, will Borge, the poet, dedicate himself to writing books? Will he rest, will he continue his political activities or what?

[Borge] "I see little opportunity for rest. I will do whatever the National Directorate decides I should do. I will go where I can best serve the revolution. I see little chance for writing, which is something that I would indeed like to do very much. Nonetheless, I think that I will continue to devote my energy to the revolutionary leadership and the defense of the revolution."

NUNEZ ON COUNTERREVOLUTION, POLITICAL SOLUTION

AU071701 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jun 84 p 4

[Text] "The Nicaraguan working people are now undertaking great efforts to meet the high demands which the defense of the revolution, in view of U.S. aggression, levels on every individual." This is what Carlos Nunez, chairman of the Nicaraguan State Council and member of the national leadership of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation (FSLN), told NEUES DEUTSCHLAND's Detlef Klement.

An adequate supply of basic foodstuffs is one of the most important facets in this effort. The CIA-controlled Somozist partisans and other counterrevolutionary elements hope to further complicate the supply situation through the purposeful destruction of agricultural crops and storage facilities.

Washington, D.C. - 1969

The Editor
The Plain Dealer
1801 Superior Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Sir:

The Plain Dealer of May 13 carried a report of Governor Celeste's concerns over aspects of our policy toward Central America. I should like to answer a number of the concerns he raised.

The bases for the Administration's policy toward Central America are the same as the aspirations of most Americans irrespective of political philosophy or professional background, namely support for democratic self-determination and respect for human rights, encouragement of economic and social development for the benefit of all and assistance in meeting threats to the security of the region. These principles underlie the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. The frequent attention to military assistance to Central America, assistance that is required by subversion fostered and supported from abroad, obscures the fact that our economic assistance to Central America currently exceeds our military assistance by a factor of three to one and, historically, has by a factor of nearly ten to one.

I want to make it abundantly clear that the Administration strongly supports efforts to end the conflict and to reduce tensions in Central America. For this reason, we have given the Contadora Group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) our firm support in the region and in international organizations such as the Organization of American States and the United Nations. However, it is fair to note that the Contadora countries will not succeed unless all countries in the region participate fully in the search for peace, and that Nicaragua has not cooperated in this effort to the extent required to bring success.

On February 17, the President sent the Central America Democracy Peace and Development Initiative Act to the Congress to obtain authority to implement the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission, and he asked for "urgent attention and early and favorable action." The proposed legislation contained provisions to restore and maintain economic progress and to further the development of democratic institutions. All

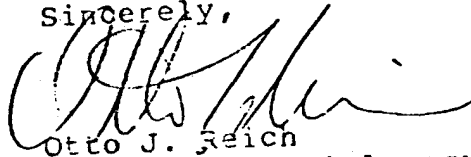
countries of Central America, including Nicaragua, and Panama would be eligible for assistance under the Act. Among the National Bipartisan Commission's recommendations for social and human development were (a) Expanded Peace Corps recruitment of teachers to serve in a Literary Corps and (b) that Peace Corps activities be expanded at the primary, secondary and technical level. The proposed legislation contained authorization for a supplemental \$2 million in FY 1984 and \$18.25 million in FY 1985 to finance ongoing Peace Corps activities in the region as well as those recommended by the National Bipartisan Commission.

Committees in both House of Congress have met on the proposed legislation. On May 10, the House of Representatives passed a modification of the Administration bill. It is hoped that the Senate will consider the measure in the near future and that legislation incorporating the broad thrust of the Administration's proposals will be enacted before the Congress recesses for the national conventions.

The recent Salvadoran elections and the outcome of the trial of former Salvadoran military personnel for the Churchwomen's murders demonstrate the evolution of democratic institutions in El Salvador, an evolution which merits our assistance. The Administration's supporters and its opponents should unite behind the Central America Initiative since the crisis in the region is too pressing to allow further delay.

In sum, there are fewer differences between the objectives of the Administration and its critics than is popularly believed. Such differences as exist are over tactics, not objectives.

Sincerely,



Otto J. Reich
Coordinator of Public Diplomacy
for Latin America and the Caribbean

WHIL-FM, known as "K-Whale," took out full-page newspaper ads contending the capture would be cruel and unnecessary.

On May 1, the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund in Juneau filed a suit against

Continued on Page 6-AA

Approved For Release 2008/08/27 : CIA-RDP86M00886R001900110013-9
 bullets that killed his wife, his children and himself. In a bright world of Asian immigrant success, he had struggled in the shadows, and lost.

"Many Korean people think America is a paradise," said a Korean-American

Kim was plagued by a stammer, which

life and two sons, and opened fire. He shot 14 times, hitting the bed, the walls, the dresser. Helen Kim, his South Korean-born wife, was hit six times. Johnny Kim, 7, was hit in the head and leg; David Kim, 5, was shot in the head and forearm.

Celeste slams Reagan on Central America

By David Beard

Since he has become Ohio's governor, Richard F. Celeste has been reticent about speaking out on an area of his interest — American foreign policy in Central America.

But Thursday — the day after President Reagan revealed his vision of Central American security on national television, the day the House of Representatives approved \$120 million in emergency military assistance for El Salvador and other Central American countries, the day the World Court ruled the United States must not commit any acts of aggression against Nicaragua — Celeste decided to talk.

"We were on the verge of being able to send the Peace Corps back into Nicaragua" in 1981, said Celeste, who was Peace Corps director from 1979 until 1981 and who had earlier worked in that



Richard F. Celeste in his Peace Corps office in 1979.

agency's Latin American division. "Those efforts were dropped when Reagan's people took office. (That) is just symptomatic of a reluctance to deal with a whole range of policy issues."

As director, he oversaw 5,800 volunteers who worked to improve health care, education, land use, water supply, agriculture and small businesses in underdeveloped nations around the world.

"If you talk to those former volunteers, you would be hard-pressed to find any who believe that what we're doing today is right," Celeste said.

Celeste, an unabashed supporter of former Vice President Walter F. Mondale's bid for the White House, said he opposes Reagan's policy because the president prefers military might to peaceful Peace Corps-type approaches to international problems.

He said it is this militaristic response, instead of needed economic and social help, that may represent the greatest threat to U.S. interests, that may alienate Latin Americans and ultimately drive

Continued on Page 7-AA

Censorship a of perspective

By Richard Bernstein

NEW YORK TIMES

When I read Orwell, my hair stood on end at mere words running across the page in front of me, at a mere idea.

Thus, in the forward to a clandestine copy of "1984," did the Czechoslovak dissident writer Milan Simecka express the thrill of discovery, the "torment of self-flagellation of the mind," that can come from reading a forbidden book. He went on to strike a note of bittersweet irony as he claimed a unique intensity in the life of the mind for those who live under dictatorships.

There are certain countries, Simecka wrote, "where you can read newspapers which print unofficial views, or go to a public library and borrow just any book you want, or make fun of the country's leaders ... or even bring a stool to a certain park and spout whatever you please to a bunch of people who have enough patience to stand there and listen to you."

In those countries, he went on, independent thought can hardly be described as an adventure — "This is thought without jeopardy." But if you want

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Celeste criticizes Reagan on Central American policy

Continued from Page 1-AA
them into the arms of the Communists.

The Peace Corps contained no CIA agents or aid, he said. "Absolutely not. Actually, we went through elaborate procedures to ensure that there weren't. That was a commitment we made to Third World countries."

He believes U.S. citizens should ask three questions about Central America:

- What are we defending?
- Who are we assisting?
- What is it we believe we will accomplish?

"I think there is a lot we can do to isolate Cuba diplomatically, to reduce and finally eliminate its arms supply to insurgents in Latin American countries," Celeste said. "I don't think the way to do it is mining (Nicaraguan) harbors, which is contrary to every principle of international affairs that we've stood for and argued for in our interest."

"Even our European allies are shocked by this. We are very close to having regular soldiers of the U.S. Army in Central America. We're running military exercises in Honduras on a regular basis. Why?

"All we do is increase dependence on us and all we do is say to leaders of countries where that leadership may be in trouble, 'Argue that the Cubans are coming and the Americans will fly in \$100 million more of military aid and will send in advisers.' It's crazy."

Celeste reacted angrily to Reagan's remarks that the United States was fooled by Sandinista rebels into thinking they were part of a broad-based democratic front instead of Communists bent on authoritarian rule.

"If Ronald Reagan wrote the history of the American Revolution, we'd find out that the people who won our freedoms were actually British subversives," Celeste said.

"The fact is, we weren't prepared to distinguish between Cuban-based Communists and genuine democratic revolutionaries. We couldn't make that distinction and we don't have a policy under this administration for making that distinction."

"It's not irrational to be concerned about Communist takeovers in countries in this hemisphere," he said. "That's a legitimate concern. I think it is folly to imagine that we, unilaterally, can prevent it from happening."

That's why the United States needs to encourage the Contradora nations — Mexico, Costa Rica and Venezuela — to step in as peacemakers, Celeste said. He said the only time the United States asks the countries for help is in bailing out a country such as Argentina, which has difficulty paying foreign debts.

"They (the Contradora countries) have at least as much at stake as we do in preventing Cuban expansion," he said. "Maybe more so."

On nuclear disarmament, Celeste remains committed to a verifiable freeze on the production of nuclear weapons, as long as both the Soviets and the United States agree to it.

"It's wrong to me that we have an administration that is not even sitting at the negotiating table to ensure that we are working for some practical steps to reduce the threat of nuclear war," he said.

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